SOME ANIMADVERSIONS

Upon the *Declaration* of, and the *Plea* for the *Army*:

Together with 16 Queries thence extracted.

Or, an Essay by way of Answer to the Plea for, and Declaration of the Army, in reference to their interruption of the Parliaments Sitting, *October* the 12.

Written *November* 4. 1659.

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Proverbs 18. 17. *He that is first in his own cause, is just: but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him out.*

Rom. 13. 2. *Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.*

Hos. 5. 10. *The Princes of* Judah *were like them that remove the bound: therefore I will pour out my wrath upon them like water.*

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Some Animadverſions, &c.

Before I enter upon the particular examination of the Papers, intituled, *The Plea for, and Declaration of the Army*: I deſire the courteous and ingenious Reader to conſider with me, theſe four or five things:

1. That there is no action, though never ſo unwarrantable, which may not find advocates to plead for it; and which the wanton wits of men may not ſpeciouſly and plauſibly varniſh over, to the dazling and deluding of the ſimple and inobſervant Reader: of which even our preſent age hath given ſufficient proof, wherein the groſſeſt and moſt dangerous errors and hereſies have been ſo gilt, that many are turned aſide after them. In the countenancing, if not propagating whereof, this Army hath not had the leaſt hand.

2. As in all ages, ſo eſpecially in this age, Pleas and Declarations attended with Proteſtations and ſolemn Appeals to the High God, have been improved to ſerve mens luſts, as well as to vindicate and confirm the truth: of which it were not difficult to give inſtance, though perhaps ungrateful to the Officers of the Army, who have ſince profeſſed their repentance, and condemned that in another, which yet by this late action they allow in themſelves: This muſt paſs for an undoubted maxim, That they who think it no ſin to reſiſt Gods Ordinance, will not fear to ſay or do any thing to juſtify what they have done.

3. That therefore men ought not to be too credulous, ſo as to be deluded by the fair ſpeeches and ſpecious pretences of men, till

they have heard both parties: they who do otherwiſe, cannot acquit themſelves of the juſt cenſure of raſhneſs, weakneſs and partiality; eſpecially when it is about matters intricate and weighty. Joh. 7. 51. *Doth our law judge any man before it hear him, and know what he doth?* This even heathens have condemned: *Qui ſtatuit aliquid, parte inauditâ alterâ, æquum licet ſtatuerit haud æquus fuerit.* God hath given us two ears to that end and purpoſe: men ought therefore to ſuſpend their judgment, at leaſt to reſerve ſo much charity for ſo grave, wiſe and faithful a Council, as Parliaments are known to be, as to preſume that they act upon as juſt and weighty reaſons, as an Army; whoſe inconſtancie and non-adherencie even to their own Reſolves and Declarations is too too ſadly manifeſt: of which this late action (beſides many more) hath given clear demonſtration.

4. That there are myſteries of State, which as they are ordinarily above the peoples capacities: ſo they ought to be ſlow in judging of them. The Lord hath ſtampt his authority upon Magiſtrates, and hath put a ſpecial prohibition upon the people from ſo much as thinking evil of them. Exod. 22. 28. *Thou ſhalt not revile the Gods, nor curſe the ruler of thy people.* 2 Pet. 2. 10. The Apoſtle ſets it down as a mark of walking after the fleſh, not to be afraid to ſpeak evil of dignities. Dignities muſt not expect to paſs without the envy of carping *Momuſes*. Reaſon would judg, that ſacred character imprinted upon Rulers, by divine ordination, ſhould ſecure their authority from vulgar profanation. And ingenuity, much more Chriſtianity, would recommend men of imployments, ſo clog'd with difficulties, ſo environ'd with temptations, rather to pitie and prayer, than enviouſly expoſe either their work or perſons unto contempt and cenſure.

5. That if men muſt needs be ſiding and judging, it argues moſt of ingenuity to help them that are down, to plead for them who have not an opportunity to ſpeak for themſelves: every man being apt to court the riſing ſun.

Theſe things premiſed, I ſhall fall directly upon the examination of the papers themſelves, and in them, firſt, of the neceſſity of the action in order to the preſervation of the good peoples intereſt.

For

For answer hereunto, First, Necessity, although worn threadbare, yet must colour the most unlawful actions, because necessity hath no law. And is it not one of *Machiavels* grand aphoritms, That the mask of Religion must be put on upon all great attempts? Religion and the good peoples interest is a main engine, indeed the usual pretence for the promoting mens own lusts and ambition. It is observable, That some men from the bare name of profession, though never so dissolute otherwise, will stand up and undergo any hazard for their Religion. This caused the King to make Religion the ground of his quarreling with the Parliament; and you know who pretended the good peoples interest, and there was as much cause to believe him as others. The Army will not easily persuade such as are not already byassed and preingaged, but that some other interest lies at the bottom, closely pursued by a few of the Leaders, and subtilly imposed on the more honest-hearted, whose eare ductil spirits, they knew well how to wire-draw to subserve selfish designs. I do not yet despair, but that (as formerly) a few days will discover unto well-meaning souls (such I would fain believe are yet sprinkled among them) that which will make them blush, when they recoyl on this action, to see how they have been trapan'd into so dangerous an attempt.

Secondly, How true a friend the Army hath been to the good peoples interest, may appear,

1 From their joyning with, if not necessitating the old Protector to interrupt this Parliament in their former sitting, and their then calling the little Parliament, and after setting up the Protector himself.

2 Their suffering the Parliament to impose the Engagement, to the turning out of many godly Magistrates and Ministers, who were left to the scorn and insolencie of the Cavaliers, refusing to pay them their Tyeths because they had not taken the said Engagement; their refusal thereof depriving them of the benefit of the Law of the land. Surely these were of the good people as well as others; and since they pretend an equal care of all, they ought to have been secured by them in the enjoying their rights, seeing they refused the Engagement onely for conscience sake. But as if

they had not been children of the ſame common Father, nay, had been disinherited and outlaw'd as to protection, they are deſerted and left to ſhift for themſelves.

3 Their deſign of getting their brethren of the Army, who had born the heat and brunt of the day, to be put out, that they might carry on their intereſt by the Anabaptiſtical and notional party, without check or controll.

4 Their reviling and ſcoffing at godly faithful Miniſters, taking their pulpits from them, ſeducing of their flocks, and endeavoring to take their maintenance from them; countenancing (at leaſt) others in theſe ſinful practiſes; nay, their preſent Declaration, ſince they have got the power into their hands, to take away the Tyeths, notwithſtanding that the far more conſiderable number of the godly Miniſters and people of theſe three Nations, are for Tyeths, as the beſt way of maintenance by the Laws of God and Man.

5 Their caſting the good peoples intereſt into ſo narrow a compaſs, their dethroning of Magiſtrates, taking up arms, committing of treaſon, upon a vain pretext of an intention in the Parliament to perſecute and eject them, thereby to draw the good people to their faction. Sure the good people are little beholden to them, either for caſting ſuch reflexions upon their Repreſentative upon naked preſumptions; or for taking *Romes* work out of their hands, teaching Rebellion and the depoſing Magiſtrates.

6 Their preſent actings in reference to their impoſing a Government upon the good people without their own conſent.

But 7 by whom was the good peoples intereſt in danger? by the Parliament? The good peoples intereſt is either in Spirituals or Civils. Spirituals, in the fundamental Doctrines of Religion, or in the matters of Diſcipline.

For Civils, none will ſay they attempted any thing.

For Doctrine, 1. Surely the Parliament were not heterodox in judgment in the doctrine of Chriſt. 2. If any ſuch were among them, they were either members of the Army, or are now taken into the Council of the Three and twenty. No danger then as to matters of Doctrine.

And

and then for Diſcipline, they have provided by a Law for the good peoples liberty in point of Order, and were upon further debates to put it out of the power of future Parliaments to hinder them. And which (I pray) is the better ſecurity, the ſtanding Law of the land by which we hold our lives and eſtates; or an Army, ſo ſubject to alteration? Beſides, General *Monck*, and the Parliaments Army with him in *Scotland*, have publiſhed to the world their reſolution to ſtand by the good people reſpectively, as to their liberty in ſpirituals. Major Gen. *Overton*, who alſo hath declared for the Parliament, being ſtrictly Congregational, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that he ſhould give way to the infringing of the good peoples liberty in Spirituals. Nay, are there not ſome good people of the Army with you, who are for the Parliament, and who are great aſſertors of the good peoples liberties?

Thirdly, If the good peoples intereſt muſt be preſerved by an Army, ought not the Army to be ſuited to the conſtitution of the good people? As they now ſtand, the moſt conſiderable of the good people, who are at age, will not eaſily be perſuaded to chuſe them for their guardians: and if they might ſpeak for themſelves, I believe, where one would truſt the Army with their liberties and intereſt, twenty will not: if this will not be granted, then, ought not each party of the good people have an Army of their own chuſing, to ſerve their intereſt? is it fit that ſome ſhould have an Army for their guard, and the reſt left naked? If this will not be granted, then, ought not the good people, for whoſe ſecurity the Armies pretended to interrupt the Parliament, maintain the Army? Is it reaſon, that the Nation ſhould be oppreſſed for their ſakes, at leaſt the good people of the Nations?

Fourthly, Let the carriage of the Parliament be obſerved, not onely in their late, but former ſitting, and it will be obvious to ſuch as will not ſhut their eyes, that it's a moſt unrighteous ſlander they are charged withall. Look but into all imployments, Civil, Military, Sacred; and who (I pray) are the men that bear the higheſt characters of care, bounty and affection? witneſs Army, Univerſities, *&c.* They are the onely men that have been dandled on the knee, and that to the ſlighting, wounding and grieving of their

godly

godly Bretheren; whereby the Parliament have loſt themſelves in the hearts and affections of the reſt, for their ſakes, who now ſo ungratefully requite them: And if the Parliament had ſhewed as much favor to their Bretheren, I am perſuaded, the Army (eſpecially ſo divided as it was) could not ſo eaſily have interrupted them.

Fifthly Is it not more the way of God, for the people to ſecure their mutual liberties and intereſt by uniting upon common principles, and ſo far as they are agreed one with another; of which their Bretheren are moſt deſirous, nay, they are in ſome places already united: and it is more than probable that did not this ſiding of the Army interpoſe it ſelf, as a temptation to hinder. much more might have been done this way, than hitherto hath been. But then the Army had not ſo ſpecious a cloak for their diſorderly actings. It's too apparent, that Statiſts and Sword-men, inſtead of cloſing, have made it their buſineſs to widen the breaches of Gods people in theſe Nations.

Sixthly, You affirm magiſterially, That it is the good peoples intereſt, without ſhewing us wherein the Parliament were about to infringe their liberties. You dare not ſpeak it out, becauſe it's but a ſurmiſe; though ſome of your familiars ſay, That the Parliament were going to ſettle the Presbyterian Government, whereas indeed there was not the leaſt motion or mention of any ſuch thing in the Houſe, ſince its laſt ſitting, as I am credibly informed. It ſeems there were no good people in Parliament, or elſe why did you infringe their liberties, ſeeing you are ſo careful of the good peoples intereſt? In a word, let all unbyaſſed men judg, who are fitteſt to be intruſted with, and likelieſt to preſerve the good peoples Intereſt; whether a Parliament choſe by themſelves, nay, ſo purged and refined, as the like is not to be in haſte: or the Army, as now it is conſtituted, and corrupted with moſt dangerous opinions and errors?

I ſhall in the next place examine thoſe things which are brought by you, as the pretended grounds of this Concluſion, That the Intereſt of the good people lay at ſtake; and they are eſpecially two, 1. The Parliaments refuſing to make the L. *Fleetwood* General,

neral, thereby keeping the Army and Militia in their own hands. 2. The Parliaments taking away the Commissions of eight Officers, thereby intending to change the spirit of the Army. 1. The Parliament made a just answer to so unjust a demand, *viz.* That it was both chargeable, unnecessary, and dangerous to the interest of the Commonwealth, to have any other General than their Representative in Parliament; which their late and dear bought experience sufficiently confirmed, in the instance of a person nothing inferior to the L. *Fleetwood* for all qualifications, and in this respect fitter, because not so easily lead or engaged by parties, as the L. *Fleetwood* is known to be: of whose sweet and tender nature, and love to Christ and his people, politick men have made unhappy use, to further their sinful practises. Neither ought the Parliament in prudence to put any Minister of State under such a temptation, it being a thing very feazable for such a person to make himself King or what he pleased, at least to check, hinder and interrupt the Chief Magistrate in the faithfull discharge of his duty at pleasure: and even this apprehension of the Parliament, the Army themselves, as soon as they had got the power into their own hands, seem to justifie, by joyning others with him in the nomination of Officers, which is little less than to joyn them with him in the Generalship, considering especially that *J. L.* is the chief of them. 2. Had the Parliament reason to part with the Militia, which is the highest flower in the peoples privileges, and for which they had contended with the King in fields of bloud? and must the Parliament design the good people ruine for being faithfull to them, in keeping their right in their own hands, whom they had intrusted with their liberties? or must the Parliament be interrupted for this? What if these Gentlemen were instruments in restoring the Parliament, will nothing satisfie them but to king it over them? Must the Parliament be termed unworthy and ungratefull for this? They that durst interrupt the Parliament, when they retained the chief command to themselves, what would they not do were the sole power in their own hands? 3. Was it fit for the Army to dictate unto the Parliament whom to chuse to be General of their Army, if they intended to have one?

for of that nature the Parliament knew well enough was their Petition, impoſed rather than tendered with their ſwords in their hands. If the Parliament had thought fit to have had a General, could it be for the publick peace or welfare of the Nation, or the Intereſt of the good people in general, to have made choiſe of a facil (though very good) man, whoſe ear was moſtly open to the leſſer party of the good people, and they for the moſt part erroneous and heady? By all which it is moſt apparent, that the Parliaments refuſing to make him General, could be no juſt ground to interrupt the Parliament, as deſigning to deſtroy the good peoples intereſt; and that the Petition for it from *Darby*, upon which the quarrel was bottom'd (let whatever elſe will be pretended) was moſt unreaſonable, and would moſt of all narrow, and conſequently indanger the good peoples Intereſt, and therefore no juſt ground to bottom that intereſt upon, unleſs the Army and the inconſiderableſt part of the good people would arrogate & ſinfully monopolize that Intereſt to themſelves, to the excluding of their Brethren.

But 2. The Parliaments act, in taking away the Commiſſions of the eight Officers, upon deſign to change the ſpirit of the Army, was thereby to deſtroy the good peoples intereſt.

1. If we conſider who theſe eight were, we ſhall eaſily ſee the falſhood of this aſſertion, & how unfit it is to bear ſuch a weight. One of the chiefeſt of them ſcarſely eſteemed by themſelves for godlines (at the beſt,) a man whoſe Religion is yet unknown, ſome ſay he is neareſt of kin to the old Proteſtants; another hath been a long time a Seeker, till a little before the breaking up of the laſt Parliament, when he and other Officers hit into a Church-way, (as ſome have ſaid) to free that deſign from the odium of an Anabaptiſtical fancie; the reſt (as many of them as I know) Anabaptiſts of the higheſt form: and how likely ſuch inſtruments were to be a means to preſerve the Intereſt of the good people, (at leaſt the good people in general) let all impartial men judg: and whether this be not to hedg in the good peoples intereſt within the Anabaptiſtical pale; at leaſt its brought into a narrow compaſs, when it depends upon eight Officers, and cannot ſurvive their Commiſſions.

2. 'Tis

2. 'Tis a known rule, *Ejusdem est ponere & tollere*: The Parliament gave them their Commissions, and why might they not take them from them again, as well as they did from eighty eight Officers, by the contrivance and procurement of these Officers? and that for none other pretence than what these persons were more guilty of, *viz.* their compliance with, and affection to the Protector and his family: whereas one of these Eight drew the Instrument of Government, the rest took Commissions and Titles of Honor from Him, and continued in command all the while, at least till they saw they could not be the *Fac-totums* of the Commonwealth, not out of zeal to the Parliament, at whose interruption they exceedingly rejoyced, and wherein they had a principle hand. Neither did *J. L.* shew any discontent, nay would have had the Protector to have assumed the Title of a King, untill such time as the Protector went about to settle the succession in his own family, thereby frustrating his high swoln expectations; nay, even these and other of the Officers that were the judges of others, were the activest Instruments in getting Addresses and Subscriptions unto the late Protector.

3. O but it was without calling them to an account; what though their faults were not charged; does that argue them the less faulty? Their petition for the Militia from *Darby*, seconded and owned at *London*, was sufficient ground to lay them aside; and the action is justified even by themselves in their interrupting the Parliament for denying it. What was the Parliaments fault? They would not put the chief command of the Army into *Fleetwoods* hands. And was not the Armies fault as great in the judgment of the Parliament (yea and all unconcerned persons) in demanding it out of the hands of the Parliament with their swords in their hands? Besides, that this should be looked upon as so great an injury, when the turning out of the other Officers was past over, smells too too rank of self and partiality. Nay, these persons, (some of them at least) had the chiefest hand in it: besides, the Armies Representation carrying the same thing in effect in the womb of it, and prosecuted by sending Subscriptions after the thanks of the House, and that to force what further concessions

they pleated from the House, might justifie the Parliament, had they proceeded further than they did.

4. O but it was a very rash action! Can that justifie the Army in far more rash and precipitate actions, as the interruption and pulling down the supream Authority of the three Nations must needs be; and that upon less than half an hours consultation, (as themselves confess in their Letter to Gen. *Monk* and his Officers) without so much as desiring the least account or reason of the Parliaments so acting. Surely it was a far less crime (if any at all) in the supream Authority, for reasons of State to lay aside eight Officers, without calling them to an account; than for these 8 new commission'd Officers to turn out the Parliament, without first desiring the least satisfaction for that Act. Surely the actions of this Army are not to be paralel'd for rashness; they have in six or seven years brought the neck of these Nations to the block three or four times, by pulling down the visible Authority of them, without so much as thinking what should be next, however God of his infinite goodness and soverain authority hath hitherto preserved us. Let them look to it, the pitcher goes often to the *water*, but comes home broke at last. It may be righteous with the Lord, when men lean so hard upon providential dispensations, to make them a broken reed, to prick and pierce into their hands and hearts. Scripture is the sure rule and key to unlock and understand them by. Providence must not be made use of to overthrow such principles, as are founded upon the Word of God and the very light of Nature. There may be a permissive Providence, when there is not an approving; and the end may be mens hardning to destruction. It's too too manifest, that men of such principles and resolutions as they, are too apt to be deluded, and therefore most unfit to be intrusted with the weighty affairs of three such great Nations as these.

5. But to be plain, the Parliament had just reason to do as they did, seeing they could not sit in freedom whilst those Officers were in the Army, for that the Army by their means, thrust themselves upon the Parliament, as a coordinate power: and truly in that case they had better be no Parliament; and that in this I do

not

not guess at random, appears in that it is the language of the Army at this very day, That there must be such a power: and then I say there must be a King: and let it be *J. L.*—— (if you please) to be umpire betwixt them, and to keep them from falling out: you know after the King was once gone, the two Houses could not long dwell together in peace.

6. Was it not as great a crime in *Oliver* L. Protector to model the Army, and put in and out whom he pleased; yea to take away *Harrison*, *Lambert*, *Overton*, and *Riches* Commissions at his pleasure? yet the Army did not remove him: surely they did not think his actions more justifiable or his Authority more sacred and inviolable than the Parliaments.

7. O but by this action they went about to change, if not destroy the spirit of the Army, whereon the interest of the good people did depend!

1. If by the spirit of the Army they intend a spirit of soundness in Faith, and holiness in conversation, or of courage, wisdom and zeal, surely the Army do very much wrong themselves; as if their Faith, holiness, courage, wisdom and zeal were tied to these mens girdles, or hung upon their sleeves. The Army was famous for all these before, when these Men were scarse known to be of it. But if by the spirit of the Army be meant a factious siding spirit, a spirit of division and setting the people of God one against another, to accomplish some mens lusts and self-ends; to change and destroy such a spirit (too apparent in the Army) will not pass with sober men for a crime, but rather an act of the highest prudence and care, for the preservation and union of the good people; there being an impossibility, in my weak apprehension, of settling these Nations to the satisfaction of all good people, till that byas that hangs upon the Army be taken off, and put into another mold, to serve the interest of all the good people equally.

2 Had not the Parliament just ground to change the spirit of the Army, the Army having apostatized from the principles of, and their engagements to the Commonwealth, having out of ambition and covetousness closed with the old Protector against the Parliament? Had they not reason to put some more confiding Of-

ficers in the Army that ſhould Act more firmly upon Commonwealth principles, which I hope they might do of perſons nothing inferior to theſe 8 Officers, both for Godlyneſs, Valour and Wiſdom. Out of their own mouths and practiſes theſe Officers ſhall be judged. The other day it was a virtue to change the ſpirit of the Army now a ſin. It was a virtue to change the ſpirit of *Eſſex*, *Manchesters*, *Brown*, *Waller*, *Maſſey*, *Fairfaxes Army*, and that for holyneſs ſake, and is it not as great a virtue to change the ſpirit of the Army for truths ſake? is there not as much need to reform errors in judgment as in practiſe? when it makes for their ends they can be content to change the ſtouteſt and ableſt Commanders, and many of them Godly, and take in their places men that never drew Sword in anger, ſcarſely ever look't an enemy in the face, were it neceſſary, inſtances enough might be given and produced of this kind, and tis more then probable when there ſhall be a conſiderable engagement, the common Souldiers will ſenſibly want their valiant leaders.

By what hath been ſaid, I hope the ingenious and impartial Reader will ſee no ſufficient ground to convince him of the neceſſity of the Armyes interruption of the Parliament, upon the account of the good peoples intereſt.

But that the Army may have the faireſt play that can be deſired, though their fowl play, and clublaw merits it not, it may not rationally be denyed but that there may be ſuch caſes wherein it may be unavoidably neceſſary to interrupt, yea to call to an account the ſupream Magiſtrate, yet all thoſe that yield this they do carefully circumſtantiate it as 1 When all due means have been uſed. 2 After long and patient waiting: if yet Magiſtrates grow deſperate, ſo that publick ſafety is in apparent hazard, in ſuch caſes God, and the light of reaſon, armes men to preſerve themſelves from deſtruction, by oppoſing, and if need be removing ſuch Tyrants, who by ſuch actings deprive themſelves of that power wherewith they were inveſted, & are to be looked upon as none other then private perſons, and to be dealt with as Murderers and Theevs *&c.* Hence then I would infer, that if the Parliament have not after all due means, and long ſuffereng, been inexorable, grown deſperate,

and

and designed apparently the ruin of the people whom they represent, and ought to preserve, (as I hope I have sufficiently proved they have not) but on the contrary, have been most faithful to you, nay if their present interruption have been for their fidelity to their trust, and not any unfaithfulnes, then the pretended necessity of the Armyes interruption, is a necessity of their own creation and no way justifiable, but rather their sin, and brought upon themselves, meerly to compass their sinister ends. Man by the fall brought himself under a necessity of sinning, which did not excuse, but aggravate his sin.

But in the next place, (for arguments sake) suppose that there was a real, not made necessity; the question is, to whom, of right doth it belong, to interrupt a Parliament or bring them to condign punishment?

To which I answer, 1. Not the multitude, or the people in a tumultuous way, the Lord abhor's Anarchy as well as Tyranny, though the original of power be in the whole body, yet not the exerting the Acts of power; who would ever undertake Magistracy upon those tearms? It is a hard case if the Magistrate may not have equal favor with Malefactors, to have the benefit of the Law, to plead for himself, and to be proceeded against according to Law, and the light of nature, but must (like Foxes or Wolves) be knockt in the head by whosoever will.

2 Not the Army, For 1. They stand in another relation to the Parliament then the rest of the Nations, even as their servants. They had their Commissions from them, and had engaged and promised obedience to them, as they are considered in that relation, they are none other, then as so many private men, or servants, for as such they might have been all forreigners, and not at all concerned in the matters of right, as to people and Magistrate. They had no delegation from the people, and if they act meerly because providence hath put power into their hands, let them consider how sad such a president may prove, for any faction, if they be but enough to do it, to destroy the best authority, under pretence of being Tyrants, and breaking of their trust. Let them take heed, least when the Soldiers eys come to be opened, to see that their interruption

terruption of the Parliament, is the cause why they are not paid off their Arrears, (who were before most carefully paid and provided for,) whilst they were in the Parliaments service; and how the Officers have inriched themselves by their hands, and the trade they have driven with every Government to make themselves great, & that by means of the poor Souldiers: let them take heed, I say, least they plead necessity, and as private Souldiers rise up against them, as they have done against their Masters. 2. They who may remove Magistrates, may also try them and punish them: now by what Law are the Souldiers impowered to do this? They ought not in reason be both parties and judges.

But then 3. Who may do it? I answer, according to the constitution of the State, where there is a coordinate power, there they may interrupt, restrain and punish, as was the case betwixt the King and Parliament; God and Nature arms men (but in an orderly way) to resist tyranny. If Magistrates covenanted with the people, they are bound to perform their part, as the people are bound to perform theirs; and are as liable to be punished for the breach of their part as the people; *Salus populi* being *suprema lex*; though the King be greater than the individuals, yet not greater than the whole in their Representative, but below them, as the President is inferior to the Council. But our case is different, we have no coordinate power, what shall we do then? I answer, The Judges, Justices of the peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, (who in the Intervals of Parliaments manage affairs) they may in the behalf of the people stand up in their stations. But what if they will not? I think in that case, the people, as many of them as can conveniently meet, may seize upon the person or persons of such tyrannical Magistrate, and secure them; and chuse meet persons to try them them for their male-administrations, and slay them, in case of resistance, as you do with other Malefactors. For the people, in whom the original of Government is, may call a Parliament, or appoint such as shall plead and maintain their cause, as in the case of a sudden invasion, in which case the Commonwealth is, partly the delegated Magistrates and Judges. And thus much by the way, upon the supposal, not concession, of a necessity; whereby

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is evident how little the Army is concerned, and that they usurp a power, that neither God nor Nature nor the People have given them.

The next thing that offers it self to our consideration, is the Armies arguments whereby they would justifie such a procedure, upon the supposal of the necessity of the action, and one is, The Parliaments acting against the King, so that what the Parliament may say against him, may be retorted upon themselves.

Answ. 1. Examples are more for illustration than solid proof; besides, similitudes must not run upon four feet; we are not to walk by examples but by precept. If they did evil, you are not to follow a multitude to do evil. Recrimination may discover the weakness of your adversary, but not at all your strength, nor the truth of your cause.

2. This similitude will not serve your turn, nay, indeed it will do you more disservice; for that you tread not in the Parliaments steps, in their proceedings against the King; but on the contrary, in the Kings against the Parliament, is evident, For the King, he made the War upon the Parliament, not the Parliament upon the King: so do you. 2. The causes were these, 1. The Parliament claimed the Militia as the peoples right. 2. They claimed a power to make Laws for the publick good and safety of the people, and that in such cases, it should not be lawfull for the King to hinder them, he should not have a negative voice over them. 3. The Parliament claimed as the peoples right, that no money should be leavied upon the Nation without their consent in Parliament. 4. That there might be a thorough and pure reformation in Religion, according to the Word of God. Now do but consider how you have espoused the Kings quarrel in all these: 1 The Parliament claim the Militia, as they represent the people, whose right it is: you take this by force of Arms out of their hands; they say they will command the Forces of the Nations: you say they shall not. 2 They claim a power to make Laws for the good and safety of these Nations without any vote: you sit at *Wallingford*-house as a coordinate power, nay as their Lords and Masters to dir[illegible] them, and when they will not do what you please, you act the

Kings part, not by ſending the black rod, but the long ſword to diſſolve them. 3. They claim as the peoples right, that no money might be raiſed, but by their own conſent in Parliament; you ſay you will raiſe money at your pleaſure, and ſend ſouldiers to force it from the people againſt Acts of Parliament: which that you may do, you reverſe and repeal Acts of Parliament, which the King never attempted to do, though you are neither of the three States in Parliament, however ſome of you pleaſed you ſelves with ſuch apprehenſions not long ſince. 4 As for reformation you are greater enemies to it than the King, which your contending for univerſal tolleration, and upon that ſcore putting the Nations into this confuſion, makes too evident. Many of you have pleaded hard for the Papiſts themſelves. I beſeech you think of theſe things; it's not perſons but things that the Parliament contended with the King for. What could the King have done more than you have done? and conſider, whether ſuch opinions and practiſes do not prepare you for Kingly Government? Again, your trading with it in the Protectors and Parliaments time, hath put you upon the neceſſity of a coordinate power, or elſe you know not how to keep the ſaddle.

3. There is not the ſame reaſon of your actions as of the Parliaments, which I have in part demonſtrated, to which I ſhall add, 1. That the Parliament was joyned with the King in the Government. They had a coordinate power; he was not abſolute Lord, but the Commonwealth; he might not alter Laws, alienate any part of the Nations right, without their own conſent in Parliament: you cannot pretend to any ſuch power. The Parliament had this power devolved upon them by the election of the people, according to the Law of the Land: you can ſhew neither election nor Law for any ſuch power in you, with reſpect to the Parliament. The Parliament were above the King, as I ſaid before, though he was *major ſingulis*, yet was he *minor univerſis*. They had a legiſlative power in common concernment and danger, as Mr *Prin* in his *Soveraign power and priviledges of Parliament* affirms. They might then queſtion the King for breach of his truſt in the executive part of Government; and in caſe of his degenerating into

into tyranny, depose him, and proceed against him as a Malefactor: the peoples good requiring it, which is the supreme Law to go by. Now you cannot plead this, unless you produce your records for your common law, not the Common Law of *England*, though to the astonishment of all sober men, you take upon you to repeal Acts of Parliament, whereby you sufficiently shew to the world, what thoughts you have of your selves and of the Nations, you their Conquerors, and they your slaves and vassals. But he that is in heaven will revenge the Nations quarrel on you, and laugh you to scorn. These are the men that are the great patrons of liberty, that dare do all this, standing in no other relation to these Nations, but as private persons and servants, that live upon the common stock of the Nations. Let them say what they will of their being not mercenary: never any were so dearly bought, and for these six years past did worse service, which appears by their hindering instead of furthering the Nations settlement, and thereby giving advantage to Cavaliers to plot and rise, and so make work for themselves, and when that will not do, lay the foundation of a War against the people of God, and such as have been the truest friends to the good old Cause.

Having thus then attempted them in their strongest hold, (the doctrine of necessity) how successfully, I submit to the Readers judgment; I shall take notice of three things further, which they offer, to justifie themselves: 1. A vindication of themselves against several calumnies which they foresaw this action would bring them under. 2. Several criminations or aspersions whereby they indeavor to disparage and to bring the Parliament into suspicion, if not contempt with the people. 3. Several Objections whereby they indeavour to stop the mouths of those that would plead the Parliaments cause. I shall begin with the first, and therein, 1. That they are falsly charged to be against the Ministry, and that they intend the destroying of the very Office, which they disclaim, alledging that they have as good Ministers as they can get to their Regiments. To which I shall say these things: That it is credibly reported, that one of their Grandees hath affirmed, that the office of the Ministry as a distinct office, was a meer cheat;

many of you ether ſtill are or lately were above Ordinances, or ſinfully liv'd without them. And doth not that ſhew what eſteem you have of the Miniſtry? are not others of you Seekers, alledging that the ſucceſſion of the Miniſtry, paſſing through the foul chanel of popery is loſt, ſo that there muſt ariſe another preiſthood with *Urim* and *Thummim*, *Ezra* 2. 63? The moſt of you are for every bodies practiſe, whoſoever will may conſecrate himſelf a Prieſt to the Lord: and is not that in effect the taking away, at leaſt laying low the Office of the Miniſtry? who will regard them or maintain them, that hath liberty to preach, and thinks himſelf well gifted for it, without the tryal or approbation of ſuch as are able and fit to try his gifts and graces. You have unanimouſly declared againſt their preſent ſettled maintainance, and however you ſay you will provide a better way, how unlikely is it, whenas the wiſeſt Stateſmen have judged it unpracticable, nay almoſt unpoſſible to find but a better way? are there not thoſe of you, that think Miniſters ought to have no ſettled maintainance? ſaying, that if they be the Miniſters of Chriſt, ought they not to truſt him with their maintenance? ſurely they are willing to truſt Chriſt, but loath to truſt men of ſuch principles, and practices as you are, with that patrimony, which Chriſt hath left them. Are there not of you, (yea many) that are of opinion, that the Church are to maintain their own Miniſters? And what then will become of thoſe, that have no Churches in your ſenſe; nor any likelyhood of any, in many places, where the people are ſo profane? woſe luſts if they pinch they will be ſure to pinch their bellyes and backs? or if they have fit matter for a Church, yet but of the poorer ſort? But ſuppoſe you ſhould (as things now go) ſettle upon every Miniſter, (for ever) as much, as the now yearly value of the Tythe is, may not things grow ſo dear, in leſs then a hundred years, as that it may be no competent maintenance for him? We ſee, that a hundred years ago, a Miniſter might live comfortably upon one hundred, yet now ſcarce ſo well upon two hundred. Let *Germany* be a proof of this, where, though they ſetled a ſufficient maintenance, as things then were, yet, after, things grew to ſuch rates, as that they could not live upon it; which has introduced an Ignorant

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and Idle Miniſtry. Surely, the way the Miniſters maintenance is in, is moſt equal, that the Miniſter ſhould ſympathize with his people in every condition. Firſt purchaſe the impropriations, before you medle with the Miniſters Tythes elſe how will you eaſe the people of the grievances of Tyths (as you call it?) is it vexatious to pay Tythes to the Miniſters, but not to the impropriators? What have you ſettled upon the Miniſters, inſtead of the impropriations, (*viz.*) ſuch Tythes, as belonged to members of Cathedral Churches, which you have taken into your own hands, if they be not reſtored, (as it is reaſon they ſhould,) they holding them as they were Miniſters, onely were allowed another to ſerve under them in regard of their attendance upon the Biſhop at his ſea, for to adviſe and council? I dare ſay *Henry* the 8 was nothing near ſo great a Church-Robber, as by this Act, the late Protector and you, (if you perſiſt therein) are like to prove. But if you durſt at preſent ſpeak out, are you not ſenſible, that there are very many godly Miniſters, who live upon the ſettled maintenance by Tythes, that will not comply with you, but have ſtood up againſt your ſinful practiſes, whom by this Plot you would eaſe your ſelves of, or bring them to your bow, at leaſt wiſe break their teeth, that they may not bite you? When men cannot otherwiſe take a Caſtle, they block up all paſſages to hinder relief from it, that ſo they may make it yield, for want of relief. How you ſtand affected to the Miniſtry, may eaſily be gueſſed at, by the Actings of the little Parliament, which was exactly calculated to the ſpirit of the Army. Beſides the reproaches which have been caſt upon them without check, the uſurping their Pulpits, the encouraging of the people in keeping their maintenance from them, or putting them upon vexations, ſutes of Law, thereby rendering their perſons and labours the leſs acceptable to the people. You ſay you have Miniſters, I believe but a few, were you deſirous of them, you might be furniſhed out of the Univerſities with men gracious and learned, but you muſt have them out of Churches, and they can ſpare you none, but gifted brethren, and they but of the loweſt form uſualy, which has been the very door, that hath let in all the errours, and ſinful opinions that are amongſt you.

Subtle Jesuites easily draw such poor souls to their party, &c. If we might guess by your present Chaplains, you are for few Ministers, except Anabaptists, others are Antichristian, with many of you. Oh but you never as an Army, Declared any thing, whereby you might be lookt upon as disaffected to the Ministry, so say the Papists, that their Church hath never Declared that we are Hereticks, and therefore no faith to be kept with us, yet even the Pope and famousest of them will preface, such private Doctors books, as contain the said Doctrine, and cause them to be read to the people, is not this your case? who are your greatest favorites, they who write and speak bitter things against the Ministers and such as stand up for them? surely the former, the latter are nicknamed, Priest-ridden, &c.

2. Charge is that they are against Learning, that they would pull down Universities. For this I shall the less insist upon it, because of its dependence upon the former. They who are no great friends to the Ministry, will hardly acquit themselves from the suspicion of being against Learning. The truth is, the most of you are ambitious enough for it your selves, even such as cannot endure it in others; witness the nibling at it by some of your new preachers, who at other times rail at it in others, and professedly preach against it. The little Parliament would have told the world how well they affected Learning, when they had the Universities under consideration, had they not been prevented. *Julian* the Apostate when he could not otherwise destroy the Christian Religion, put down the Schools of Learning. The Turk looks upon himself as the more absolute, because he keeps his Subjects from Learning.

3. Charge, That they are against Magistrates, & therefore bring things into confusion, that they might take all power into their own hands and rule by the sword. For this I say, it is too obvious to all unbyassed, how contemptible you have made that Ordinance by such practises as this of late has been. Many, yea the most of you are Anabaptists; these two have been the known principles of the transmarine Anabaptists; 1. That Infants ought not to be baptized. 2. That a Christian ought not to take and exert the Office of a Magistrate. And is it not probable, when these among

you know their own principles and have got what they can, they will be of the ſame mind, with the reſt, as they are in the former? are you not againſt the Magiſtrates power in reference to the firſt table? And if invading the eſtabliſhed liberties of Cities, Towns and Corporations may argue your ſlighting of Magiſtrates, you will hardly paſs without cenſure. You ſay, you take not the power into your own hands: If your late Council of Three and twenty be well ſcan'd, I believe it will be found little elſe than your ſelves, conſidering eſpecially that there ſits not above 14 or 15, the reſt being Members of Parliament and men of Eſtates, are not willing to hazard all upon your late illegal Act. Can you acquit your ſelves from taking the power into your own hands, when you make Laws, and repeal Laws, and conſtitute Magiſtrates, and give them rules to be obſerved? Theſe are things unheard of in theſe Nations, and they proclaim to the world, that you look upon the Nations as conquered by you, and therefore may inſlave them at your pleaſure. It is apparent, that theſe ſix or ſeaven years you have done by Magiſtrates, as children do by their birds, they tie a ſtring to their feet, and then let them fly, but no further than they may pull them in again.

4 That they are countenancers of very ſad and deſtructive errors, the Authors and promoters of them, at leaſt, favourers and friends to them.

Surely from this all the water in the ſea will not waſh you; nay your preſent action, in the pretended riſe of it, ſufficiently proves it. They that know any thing of your ſpirits muſt need know, in how comprehenſive a lence you take the good people, whom you ſay you engage for. Nay were it not eaſie to ſhew, that the moſt of your ſelves, (or at leaſt many) have been dangerouſly erroneous? There is ſcarce a Doctrine of Religion, that the contrary error may not find one or other among you to patronize it: Nay are not Quakers digeſted into your new Militia, and now flocking apace to your Army? and ſurely if God ſhould ſo order it, as to give you but a little rebuke, it's to be ſuppoſed, you would make no great ſcruple to take them into the Army.

Again they who were preſent at the trial of *Nayler*, for his hor-

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rid blaſphemie, can tell how ſome of the greateſt note among you ſtickled for him. It is true you have carryed it well in ſome reſpects, as to the ſecond Table, but have not you propagated more and worſe evils by your indulgence to perſons in the breach of the firſt Table? The Tares that have been ſown by your means, will not eaſily be pluckt up; eſpecially whilſt they have the Armie for a pale to defend them. O that God would convince you that ſins againſt the firſt Table are greater, and more grievous in the ſight of God, then againſt the ſecond Table; as being immediately againſt his Majeſty! That I may ſhut up this diſcourſe: ſurely if *Corah* and his companions ſin be to be committed under the Goſpel, as the Apoſtle *Jude* ſeems to aſſert 11. ver. this Age and this Armie are moſt likely to ſtand charged with it. He that ſhall conſider the ſtory, Num. 16. will eaſily perceive how the practiſes of the Army anſwers it, as face anſwers face in a glaſs. What was the matter why *Aaron* and his ſons muſt take upon them to be Prieſts, and none muſt offer incenſe but they, none muſt come near to God but they? *Corah* knows no reaſon for that, ſeeing all the Lords people are holy: why ſhould not they offer incenſe and come near to God? And then it will follow, that if all may be Prieſts, then no Tithe to maintain the Prieſts; ſo that the people would be eaſed of that burthen. Now ſuch a Doctrine, tending to the honour and profit of the people; honour to offer incence; and profit, in that they ſhould pay no Tythes, is ſo taking with them, that *Corah* ingages 250 Princes, (good men it ſeems) nay the whole Multitude runs after them, ſeparating from *Moſes* and *Aaron*. As for Magiſtracy, that alſo, (though not ſo directly) in the 13 and 14. verſes it ſtruck at: and they charge *Moſes* with deceiving them and not keeping Covenant with them, and in effect, that he deſigned nothing but the ſetting up of himſelf, and his Family. I need not apply it, onely let me mind the Army of this, that if they have ſinned that ſin, let them look for the puniſhment of it, if the Lord give them not a heart truly to repent thereof.

I come now to the 5. falſe charge, in which they ſay they intended to ſet up a ſingle perſon. For this I ſhall preſent a few things

things to the Readers Conſideration. Firſt, the Armies tampering with the late King, and overtures of agreeing with him, upon far greater diſadvantages than the Conceſſions at the Iſle of *Wight*. For this ſee *Putney Projects*. And whereas they ſay, that was the act onely of the Old Protector and his ſon *Ireton*; yet did not the Army ſet up (notwithſtanding) the Protector himſelf, recieving titles of honor, and large gifts from him, which the Nation groans under to this day. Yet never ſhew'd any diſcontent, till he began to ſhew favor to others, as well as to them? And even when they diſſolved the former Parliament, was it upon Commonwealths principles? No, for they, (at leaſt the chief of them) engaged to continue the late Protector, and were upon the ſettlement of the Government in him, and a Council of the new Houſe of Lords; though afterward that ſtanding in the way, the Protector was moſt ſhamefully deſerted by his neareſt relations; ſo that his wounds he recieved in the houſe of his friends, were they that ſlew him. Was it not *J. L.* that drew the Inſtrument of Government, and never ſhewed the leaſt diſlike, till ſome diſfavor and the continuing of the Protectors line, provoked his ambition. Report is a lier, if ſome body hath not gaped to get into the ſaddle; and may not the ſucceſs againſt Sir *George Booth*, which is ſo cried up, (though obtained upon the moſt eaſie terms) the interruption of the Parliament, which eſpecially ſtuck in his way; and the ſucceſs which may follow upon this Engagement againſt *Monk*, give a fair opportunity to it. It has been ſaid by the Old Protector, That no man was fitter to command three Nations; and ſome have thought that he feared it would be ſo: and wiſe men have ſaid, that *Olivers* Children ſhould not continue ſix Months in the Government, if *L.* were alive. Add to all this, the deſign of keeping up the ſpirit of the Army, thereby keeping out ſuch as may put a ſtop to it. The onely Objection is, That he can never come over *C. F.* head. Was it not as unlikely, that *Cromwell* ſhould come over *Fairfaxes*? beſides, *Fletwood* is fallen in with the Congregational way, which hath much abated his intereſt with the whimſical Party; ſo that he is not ſo fit to be truſted with their intereſt, as Old *Olivers* own ſon *L.* whoſe Religion is

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I come now to the 5. falſe charge, in which they ſay they intended to ſet up a ſingle perſon. For this I ſhall preſent a few things

things to the Readers Conſideration. Firſt, the Armies tampering with the late King, and overtures of agreeing with him, upon far greater diſadvantages than the Conceſſions at the Iſle of *Wight*. For this ſee *Putney Projects*. And whereas they ſay, that was the act onely of the Old Protector and his ſon *Ireton*; yet did not the Army ſet up (notwithſtanding) the Protector himſelf, recieving titles of honor, and large gifts from him, which the Nation groans under to this day. Yet never ſhew'd any diſcontent, till he began to ſhew favor to others, as well as to them? And even when they diſſolved the former Parliament, was it upon Commonwealths principles? No, for they, (at leaſt the chief of them) engaged to continue the late Protector, and were upon the ſettlement of the Government in him, and a Council of the new Houſe of Lords; though afterward that ſtanding in the way, the Protector was moſt ſhamefully deſerted by his neareſt relations; ſo that his wounds he recieved in the houſe of his friends, were they that ſlew him. Was it not *J. L.* that drew the Inſtrument of Government, and never ſhewed the leaſt diſlike, till ſome diſfavor and the continuing of the Protectors line, provoked his ambition. Report is a lier, if ſome body hath not gaped to get into the ſaddle; and may not the ſucceſs againſt Sir *George Booth*, which is ſo cried up, (though obtained upon the moſt eaſie terms) the interruption of the Parliament, which eſpecially ſtuck in his way; and the ſucceſs which may follow upon this Engagement againſt *Monk*, give a fair opportunity to it. It has been ſaid by the Old Protector, That no man was fitter to command three Nations; and ſome have thought that he feared it would be ſo: and wiſe men have ſaid, that *Olivers* Children ſhould not continue ſix Months in the Government, if *L.* were alive. Add to all this, the deſign of keeping up the ſpirit of the Army, thereby keeping out ſuch as may put a ſtop to it. The onely Objection is, That he can never come over *C. F.* head. Was it not as unlikely, that *Cromwell* ſhould come over *Fairfaxes*? beſides, *Fletwood* is fallen in with the Congregational way, which hath much abated his intereſt with the whimſical Party; ſo that he is not ſo fit to be truſted with their intereſt, as Old *Olivers* own ſon *L.* whoſe Religion is

unknown. Again, may not difficulties and ſtreights put them upon exalting the moſt active and politick? I dare boldly ſay, That however at preſent the Army may be againſt a ſingle perſon, yet when they are grown a little more notional and neceſſitated, they will be for that which will moſt promote their intereſt. You know what *Hazael* ſaid, Am I a dog? they that lay hold on this twig, will not ſtick to lay hold on another, when they ſee it makes for their turn; and then they can put it off with the leading of Providence; not conſidering that there is a permiſſive Providence, where always there is not an approving. Add to this, their inſiſting upon the prerogatives of a King (as I have ſhewed) and their choice of a Council, wherein there are but few through-paced Commonwealths men, except Lt. Gen. *Ludlow*, who refuſeth to cloſe with them, till he ſhall firſt ſee thoſe better things they will do, than the Parliament did. *H. V.* though he joyned not with the Protector, yet in his healing queſtion, declared himſelf indifferent, as to the executive power, whether to be by one or more: So that there is ground at leaſt of ſuſpicion concerning the Armies turning about; which cannot in the leaſt be imagined of the Parliament, who are the very pillars of the Commonwealth, and who cut off the Kings head, and who for their fidelity to that intereſt, are now turned out by the Army. Let them put what face elſe they will upon it. And,

6. And laſtly, That in all theſe actings they ſeek themſelves: which they ſeem to wipe off by ſaying, that if they had fought themſelves, they might have been as great as they would. For this alſo, let their honors and gifts recieved from the Protector, nay their late propoſals to the Parliament be conſidered and ſee if ſelf be not the very buſineſs. And in this very change, what have they elſe done, but raiſed one another? And whence aroſe their diſſatisfaction formerly, but that all the greatneſs was not confer'd on them; that any other ſhould ſhare with them in the chief Magiſtrates care and favor? Have they refuſed any thing that was tendered them? or remitted any thing of their pay, notwithſtanding their vaſt eſtates, and the little ſervice they have done for it theſe ſix or ſeaven years?

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The next thing we have to consider is, what further crimes they charge the Parliament withall: As first, their dealing so severely with the eight Officers, notwithstanding they had given them thanks for their good affections, expresst in their representation not many days before. Now for this, having spoken of it before, I shall be the briefer: onely adding, that if it had been as is suggested, yet were they such denying men, as they would bear the world in hand they are, they would rather, in such a time as this, when the enemies abroad are combining and plotting the invasion of these Nations, nay to prevent the reproach of the enemy, and contempt of Authority, suffer themselves peaceably to be layd aside; than thus to involve us in a War in our own bowels, to the engaging of the people of God, and all the friends of the good Old Cause, one against another, which may tend to their subversion. Others who in their day were not less considerable servitors, have made no resistance, who happily had as fair opportunities as they. Besides, the Parliament is not alone in their sense of their sending for further Subscriptions. Have not Gen. *Monk* and his Army, Major Gen. *Overton*, and may Officers in *England* and *Ireland*, look'd upon it as unfit, and taken it as an Act of pride and disesteem of their Bretheren, to impose their dictates upon them; the reason whereof they were not privy to.

2. That the Parliament gave the Army cause to suspect their affection to them in their slowness to raise money for their maintainance.

For this also, let the impartial Reader consider, 1. If it had been as is alledged, had not the Parliament reason not to be overforward to settle or raise taxes, till they might see some further proof of the fidelity of the Army? Were not the Parliament aware that the Army wanted nothing else to take the power into their own hands? Is it not more than probable, that, could the Army raise money without them, they would (as happily they intend) never call Parliament more, but carry on their design by the sword? It's observable That the late King and the Army, stand alike affected unto Parliaments: could he have raised money without them, he would never have called them: and are not the

Army of his mind? But 2. Who will believe such a ſlander? when indeed the Parliament were too forward, to raiſe 12 Months Tax, to be paid by the firſt inſtant, and had added to the former Tax almoſt double; and that to the utter undoing of thouſands of poor families, eſpecially the new planters of *Ireland*: many of them throwing up their Leaſes, as being unable to pay their rents, and ſuch heavy Taxes where commodities yield no profit.

3. The Parliaments backwardneſs to draw the Act of Indempnity; their fallacious and inſignificant drawing of it; and their after Act againſt Major Gen. *Harriſon*, incapacitating him to bear office in the Commonwealth.

For this, let the Army take heed of being guilty of evil ſurmiſes. Can it be imagined, that the Army had not ſuch friends in the Houſe, as would ſee to the drawing of the Act, to the Armies beſt advantage, ſo long as they had *H. V. &c* on their ſide? And for a punctilio of time, the Parliament might well be excuſed, having matters of more intricacie and weight under conſideration. Neither in the drawing are they blame-worthy to aim at their own ſecurity, as well as the Armies, which they knew well would play faſt and looſe with them. And as for Maj. Gen. *Harriſon*, might not the Parliament indempnifie him and ſecure him from queſtion for his former acting, yet judg him unfit to bear office? If that were a crime in the Parliament, whom he had moſt juſtly provoked, muſt it not be a far greater evil in the Army, now not to recieve him in, in whoſe cauſe he ſuffered? Perhaps the Parliament, that underſtood the temper of the Army too well, knew that they onely lent them the ſword to cut their own friends with, intending when they had done ſo, to take it from them again.

4. That the Parliament had a deſign to ſet up one intereſt of the people of God, to the deſtruction of the reſt, which if it had gone on, others of the good people might fly into houling wildernеſſes, as formerly they had done.

For this, it is magiſterially delivered, without ſo much as the leaſt ground hinted, to gain credence with the Reader. Nay what can this be but a very ſlander, the Parliament having by Law ſecured the good peoples intereſt (they ſpeak for) and gone there-

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in further than they ought, to gratifie the Army? 2. If by one Intereſt they mean, an intention in the Parliament (as is ſcarſely believed) to call an Aſſembly of the godly Miniſters of both ſides, and to endeavor an Agreement upon common Principles; and that ſuch as ſhould ſtill be unſatisfied, being otherwiſe ſound in the faith, ſhould have a like freedom and ſupport and protection from the publick Magiſtrate: If the Army look upon themſelves as bound to commit treaſon, and ſubvert the ſupreme Authority for this, let the Lord be judg thereof, whoſe judgment alone is according to truth. As for the reſt flying into wilderneſſes, if they mean *New-England*, many of you have been already there, and thoſe of note too; are they not as bitter againſt *New-England* in their pamphlets as old *England* for perſecution?

5. Their breaking their promiſe to the Army of making the L. *Fleetwood* General. For this, I am credibly informed, there was no ſuch promiſe, onely two or three of the Members of the Houſe before the ſitting, promiſed to endeavor it, which ought not to be charged upon the Houſe as their Act; and which thoſe perſons accordingly did endeavor, though without ſucceſs, as the Parliament had juſt reaſon.

The Parliament, you ſee, are paſſed through theſe pikes, without any great wound to their reputation. I come in the third place, to anſwer certain Objections: the 1. is, That they are no Parliament.

For the anſwering of this, I refer the Reader to a late book of Mr. *Needham*, called (Intereſt will not lie,) read Sect. 7. Pag. 21. *&c.* and what Mr. *Prin* himſelf in his Soveraign power and priviledges of Parliament aſſerts, that the houſe of Commons is the Parliament, and that they have made Laws, and may ſtill in caſe of concernment and ſafety; which are binding, though the Royal aſſent be not to them. And as for their diſſolution by the peoples new elections, I muſt confeſs, I am not acquainted with matters of that nature, ſo as to ſpeak particularly to it, yet ſo far it comes to my reaſon, that it's free, and orderly election that muſt null the former; Now the other elections were neither. Not free: onely the people, whoſe deſire it was that their former elections might

ſtand, were loath to looſe their priviledges, which ſuch as ſent out their ſummons moſt deſired. Not orderly; they neither were by the Kings writt, nor had the people, (in whom originally the power is lodged,) intruſted any other therewith. I beſeech you conſider, how odious this kind of pleading muſt be in you, of all men, who have fought under them as ſuch, and have been maintained by them. May not the Cavalliers, by the Law of the Land, try you, as murtherers, if you fought under no power? May not the future Parliaments make uſe of ſuch a conceſſion, to the taking away of your eſtates, got in the Parliaments ſervice? In a word, if 40 make a houſe, called by the Kings writt, and choſen by the people, and an Act for continuing, till they ſhould diſſolve themſelves, then is it a Parliament, though the major part were driven away, by force offered by the Army; the Parliament by their ſending their Mace, declaring that the houſe had no hand in their excluſion, though ſome few members might be privy to it. Surely, what ever your thoughts are, that handful taking to them ſuch of their fellow Members, as are willing to ſubmit to Commonwealth principles, having not forfeited their right, and filling their vacancyes, with perſons not ſubject to juſt exception, will prove the moſt probable baſis of the Nations ſettlement.

2 *Obj.* That the Cavalliers are troubled at the Parliaments interruption, and to plead for the Parliament, *is* a gratifying of them, and render men ſuſpected of Cavalleriſm.

For this I ſay, 1. That we are fallen into a ſad age, when pleading for the Parliament, ſhall be charged as Cavalleriſm, at leaſt a gratifying of them. Alas, it was Treaſon the other day to ſpeak againſt them, now it's Treaſon to ſpeak for them. Your ſelves acknowledg in your Plea, that the laſt partyes ſpleen, was chiefly againſt the Parliament. How likely is it, that the Cavalliers ſhould out of any good affection, be troubled at their turning out, by whom they were ſubdued, ſequeſtred, their Kings head cut off? If the ſoberer ſort of Cavalliers are troubled it is not out of any good will to the Parliament, but that they had rather live under a government, then no government: and be ruled by any rather then the Sword. Surely other wiſe their hopes are height-

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ned. that by this means, they ſhall have a day for it, as are alſo the hopes of Papiſts and Quakers.

3 *Obj.* They who are troubled at this interruption, were not ſo at the Protectors turning them out. *Anſ.* 1 They were not ſo ſenſible of the good of their ſitting then as now, perhaps their experience hath taught them, how ſad a thing it is, when the power is in mens hands that will rule how they pleaſe. 2 What though they were not ſo ſevere againſt the firſt fault, muſt they not bear witneſs againſt the ſecond, as aggravated? What if they were not ſo ſenſible of their danger then as now, when the Quakers are grown ſo ſtrong, and the Army very much bended to the National party? 3 Few true friends to the Parliament but were troubled at it. 4 This is much worſe to be born, then that, for that was done by the Army under a General, which might mitigate the Armies crime: but this was done by ſuch as were out of Commiſſion chiefly, and (make the beſt of it,) by the Army againſt the Parliament, their General. Again, now there is a party that ſtands up for the Parliament, againſt the Army, ſo that they cannot yield obedience to the Army, as having the ſole power in their hands. 5 The little Parliament gave up what power they had to the Protector; I mean the Major part. The Nations ſubmitted to him, by proclaiming him *&c.* And thus far concerning theſe things. I ſhall now preſent the Reader, with the Queries thence extracted.

Q. 1 Whether it be not more then probable, that the Parliaments diſappointing ſome, who had a great hand in the laſt change, of thoſe preferments, they expected, was not the chief cauſe of their interruption; and the petition and repreſentation but trains to effect that deſign? The ſence the Parliament had thereof, provoked them to do what they did?

Q. 2 Whether it be not moſt apparent that the practices of the Army in the Protectors time, and now, be not the cauſe of all thoſe debts the Nations are run into: of the breach of publique faith: of that ſcorn they are in with other Nations, and of the unſettled ſtate of the Nations? *Q.* 3 Whether

Q. 3 Whether this action of the Army, upon leſs then half an hours conſultation, be not more precipitate and deſtructive to the Nations and the good peoples intereſt, than that of the Parlament; ſince thereby they have hazarded the deſtruction not of ſome but of all?

Q. 4 Whether ſence of duty, and love to the Nations, ought not to have made the Officers to acquieſce in the Parliaments pleaſure, at leaſt, till they had deſired ſatisfaction from them for their laying them aſide?

Q. 5 Whether doth not this action confirm the apprehenſions of wiſe men, that the Army called the Parliament together, onely to ſhelter themſelves againſt the preſent ſtorm, to quiet the people a little, till they were in more readineſs to take the power into their own hands, which the reducing of the other Officers made way for?

Q. 6 Whether the Petition for a General was not contrived and promoted, to divide between the Parliament and the Army? if the Parliament ſhould grant, then they had the Army, and might do what they pleaſed: if the Parliament ſhould not grant it, then they would diſoblige the Army, and the Army would be the eaſilier drawn to interrupt their ſitting?

Q. 7 Whether this action, eſpecially the Plea for it (*viz.*) the good peoples intereſt doth not juſtify Sir *George Booth*, at leaſt the good people who joyned in that ingagement upon the Parliaments going about to deſtroy the good peoples intereſt by puting the Army into the hands of Anabaptiſts *&c.*

Q. 8 Whether ſuch as by pulling down the lawful Authority of the Nations, and thereby creating a neceſſity of their own continuing in Arms, may not be juſtly ſaid to ſhed innocent blood, and to recieve the wags of iniquity.

to the? Whether in reason the Army as now constituted, can be safest means to secure the good peoples interest: and ought not that byas that is upon them be first taken off?

Q. 10 Whether the present practices and design's of the Army, be not inconsistent with the good peoples interest, as their imposing of Government upon them, and their unsettling the present established maintenance of the Ministry, which many if not the most of the good Ministers and people look upon as the way of God?

Q. 11 Whether sober men can look upon it as designed to gratify Ministers or people, and not a design rather to insnare the Ministers: either to bring them to lay with them, or to expose themselves and Familyes to ruin?

Q. 12 Whether it be not most apparent, that the good people the Army plead for, have born the highest characters of the Parliaments care and affection, for which their bretheren were and still are justly grieved and offended at the Parliament?

Q. 13 Whether a Parliament, chosen by the good people, (at least as this Parliament was purged and refined) and the Laws of the Land, by which we hold whatever is dear to us, be not a better means to secure the good peoples interest, than an Army, especially as now molded?

Q. 14 Whether, if any of the good people they plead for, suffered any disparagement from the Parliament, were it not for their being so hot for the Protector? And had not the Parliament cause to be slow in preferring such as had been his creatures; to make them sensible of their crime, and to deterr others from being so forward to encourage usurpers? and whether this hath not set such upon siding with the Army in this action?

Q. 15 Whether was it ever known, that Acts of Parliament

were repealed by an Army? and whether thereby the Army, [illegible] publish to the world, these Nations to be their conquered [illegible] and vassals?

Q. 16 Whether upon consideration of these things, sober men will judg, this interruption to arise from any injury done to the good peoples interest, pleaded for; or rather from other evils? Wherein (might I be so bold) I should humbly present the Parliament with such particulars as there following.

First, Their not promoting the union of the godly Ministers and people, of the *Presbyterian* and Congregational judgment, by calling an assembly of both, to endeavor an accord upon common principles.

Secondly, Their suffering those who write the Diurnals to cast dirt upon the Ministers and Ministry, without taking notice thereof, and punishing them according to the merit of the fact. Good men have looked upon this as one especial cause of their former interruption.

Thirdly, Their Act of boundless toleration, to the hazard of the very life of Religion, and that to the gratifying of those who now have removed them.

Fourthly, Their sinfull compliance with the designs of the Grandees of the Army, to pull out many Officers, several of them truly fearing God, upon no other pretence, than such as were kept in, were equally, nay more guilty of.

Fiftly, The too great countenance they have given to persons sinfully erroneous, and their great severity and rigor against such, as were eminent both for godliness, abilities and usefulness to the work of Christ, out of carnal policie; by means whereof themselves are removed, the Nations are brought into extreme danger and inextricable confusion.

For all which, the Lord humble them, and awaken them, (if ever the Lord shall in mercie to these Nations restore them to the exercize of that power they are duly call'd to) to a serious purpose of reforming these, and what other evils the Lord shall discover

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to them; that ſo the Lord may pardon and paſs by for his names ſake.

Having thus ſpoken my poor thoughts of this preſent tranſaction between the Parliament and Army: I deſire the Reader to take notice, 1. That when I had finiſh'd this Eſſay, I knew of no other; ſince when I have ſeen a little paper, intituled, *A Relation of the true ſtate of the caſe between the Parliament and Army*, (which I ſuppoſe was ſuddenly upon their interruption) and ſome things are handled therein ſlightly, and as others (upon whoſe judgment I had more reaſon to rely than my own) have judged, not with equal clearneſs and advantage to the Parliaments vindication, as this poor attempt. 2. That the Author being at ſome conſiderable diſtance, and unacquainted with State affairs, and having little other light than what he had from the Armies *Plea* and *Declaration*, except in ſome matters of fact, wherein (reporting things as he hath recieved them from others) he may haply miſtake, and that to the prejudice of particular perſons; which he deſires to be born with, in having neither deſign nor animoſity againſt any mans perſon, further than the publick Cauſe may be either prejudiced or furthered. For what elſe doth occurr, he hath ſpoken in the ſimplicity of his heart, and (as he believed) according to the mind of God: ſo that he hath the teſtimony of a good Conſcience, what uſage ſoever he may meet withall, from enemies or angry friends; having no deſign to engage friends, or diſoblige enemies; and can ſay, in uprightneſs, That if he had his deſire, next to his ſouls happineſs and ſinners turning to God, it is not the conquering of either ſide, but a happy cloſure of the Presbyterian, and Congregational brethren, ſo far as they are agreed; and deſires from his heart, none other uſe may be made of the ſucceſs of theſe unhappy troubles, then as a means for the more eaſie accompliſhing of that end: his judgment perſuading him to believe that the great intereſt of Chriſt lyes chiefly and likelyeſt between theſe two judgments; and that the means to carry it out effectually, muſt be their agreement upon common principles; The which the Lord in his mercy give both partyes to ſee and erneſtly purſue. *Amen.*

FINIS.